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INFO LOG-00 AF-01 AID-01 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00
DODE-00 EUR-01 OIGO-01 HA-09 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-16
ADS-00 NSAE-00 OCS-06 OIC-02 PM-00 SR-00 SS-00
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O 161716Z MAY 94
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9402
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 04553

ALSO PASS AID FOR BHR, BHR/OFDA, BHR/FFP
ROME FOR FODAG

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREF, EAID, PHUM, PINR, AORC, MOPS, RW
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SUBJECT: RWANDA CRISIS AS OF 5/16: ICRC SAYS KILLINGS GO
ON, DHA BRIEFS DONORS, UNHCR REQUESTS SATELLITE PHOTOS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT. SEE ACTION REQUEST,
PARA 21.

SUMMARY

2. ICRC (PROTECT THROUGHOUT) TOLD US ON 5/16 THAT THE
MASSACRES IN RWANDA DEFINITELY CONTINUE, WITH FRESH
BODIES FOUND EVERY DAY. FOLLOWING THE KILLING OF 26
RWANDANS AT THE KAPGAYE COMPOUND NEAR GITARAMA, ANOTHER
KILLING OF AT LEAST 7 RWANDANS -- INCLUDING THE HEAD OF
THE SCHOOL -- TOOK PLACE ON 5/11. THE RWANDAN DIRECTOR

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OF CABINET, COL. BAGOSORA, TOLD ICRC'S DELEGATE THAT THEY MISSED KILLING ALL TUTSIS IN 1959, BUT WON'T MISS NOW.

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3. IN A BRIEFING TO DONOR GOVERNMENTS, UN/DHA ALSO REPORTED THAT, BASED ON SNAPSHOTS OF INFORMATION AVAILABLE, MASSACRES IN RWANDA CONTINUE (GROUPS OF 20 - 30 BODIES CONTINUE TO BE DISCOVERED) BUT THEY ARE NOT AT THE SAME LEVEL AS EARLIER. DHA'S LANCE CLARK ALSO DESCRIBED THE RISKS INHERENT IN EVACUATING LARGE GROUPS, WHICH THEN ARE ENDANGERED BECAUSE THEIR STATUS IS READILY IDENTIFIED AS THEY TRY TO MOVE EN MASSE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE BEST APPROACH FOR AN EXPANDED UNAMIR COULD BE TO EXPAND MARKEDLY THE PROTECTED AREAS.

4. CLARK DESCRIBED INSTITUTIONAL IMPROVEMENTS AT DHA AS
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PART OF ITS PRO-ACTIVE APPROACH IN COORDINATING THE INTER-AGENCY EFFORT IN RWANDA. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT A MAJOR PROBLEM REGARDING RWANDA IN COMING WEEKS IS LIKELY TO BE FUNDING. AGENCIES ALREADY HAVE DRAWN FROM AVAILABLE EMERGENCY FUNDS AND -- ONCE THE SECURITY SITUATION PERMITS DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY -- COSTS WILL GO WAY UP.

5. UNHCR SAID THERE HAS BEEN INCREASED INFLUX OF RWANDANS INTO TANZANIA AND RUMORS OF MANY MORE ON THE WAY. THEY REQUESTED USG ASSISTANCE IN PROVIDING SATELLITE PHOTO COVERAGE OF POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN RWANDA AND NORTHWESTERN TANZANIA. END SUMMARY.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

6. DANIEL AUGSTBURGER, ICRC'S RWANDA/BURUNDI DESK OFFICER, TOLD MISSIONOFF ON 5/16 THAT THE MASSACRES IN RWANDA DEFINITELY CONTINUE, WITH FRESH BODIES FOUND EVERY DAY. AUGSTBURGER SAID ICRC DOES NOT USE THE TERM "GENOCIDE" FOR SECURITY REASONS, BUT HE SPOKE APPROVINGLY OF FRENCH SPECIAL ENVOY BERNARD KOUCHNER'S USE OF THE WORD DURING HIS CURRENT VISIT. HE SAID THAT THE RWANDAN DIRECTOR OF CABINET, COL. BAGOSORA, TOLD ICRC'S DELEGATE SEVERAL DAYS AGO THAT THEY MISSED KILLING ALL TUTSIS IN 1959 -- BUT WON'T MISS NOW.

7. AUGSTBURGER REPORTED THAT, FOLLOWING THE KILLING OF 26 RWANDANS AT THE KAPGAYE COMPOUND NEAR GITARAMA ABOUT

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10 DAYS AGO, ANOTHER KILLING OF AT LEAST 7 RWANDANS
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(INCLUDING THE HEAD OF THE SCHOOL) TOOK PLACE ON 5/11.
HE SAID 2,000 RWANDANS REMAIN IN THE CYANGUGU STADIUM,
THE OTHERS HAVING TRANSFERRED TO A FORMER BURUNDI
REFUGEE CAMP.

8. AUGSTBURGER REFLECTED ICRC'S EXASPERATION THAT THE
KILLINGS CONTINUE AFTER ALMOST SEVEN WEEKS. HE SAID
THEY HAVE STUDIED ALL SORTS OF OPERATIONS, BUT THE ONLY
THING THEY BELIEVE MAY BE ABLE TO WORK WOULD BE A TYPE
OF COMMANDO OPERATION TO SAVE THE LIVES OF THOSE WHO ARE

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AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 04553

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SUBJECT: RWANDA CRISIS AS OF 5/16: ICRC SAYS KILLINGS GO
ENDANGERED BUT STILL SURVIVE. WE ASKED ABOUT EXPANDING
SECURITY ZONES, AND HE SAID THERE IS NOT A SINGLE REAL
SECURITY ZONE IN THE GOVERNMENT-HELD AREA.

9. AUGSTBURGER MENTIONED WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS ONE OF
THE FEW SUCCESSES, WHEN 350 ORPHANS WERE EVACUATED FROM
GISENYI. HIS PERSONAL VIEW, BASED ON REPORTS FROM THE
AREA, IS THAT IT MAY HAVE BEEN MADE POSSIBLE BY PRESSURE
FROM THE FRENCH CONSUL IN GOMA, ZAIRE. (NOTE. HE
CLEARLY WANTED US TO INFER THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT
HAS THE ABILITY TO INFLUENCE, TO SOME EXTENT, EVENTS IN
AREAS HELD BY THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. END NOTE.)

10. AUGSTBURGER ALSO PROMISED TO PROVIDE US A
CLOSE-HOLD LIST OF THE ENCLAVES OF ENDANGERED RWANDANS,
AS KNOWN TO ICRC. WE WILL TRANSMIT THE LIST TO
DEPARTMENT UPON RECEIPT.

UN DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS

11. LANCE CLARK, UN DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITARIAN
AFFAIRS/GENEVA, BRIEFED DONOR GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES
AT A MEETING OF THE HUMANITARIAN LIAISON WORKING GROUP
ON 5/16. HE HAD RECENTLY RETURNED FROM DHA'S ADVANCE
HUMANITARIAN TEAM (AHT) IN KIGALI AND WILL GO BACK TO
RWANDA IN A COUPLE OF DAYS.

12. CLARK SAID THAT THE AHT'S ROLE IS TO PROVIDE DIRECT
ASSISTANCE (PRIMARILY TO DISPLACED PERSONS IN
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UNAMIR-PROTECTED AREAS) AND TO ACT AS LIAISON ON
HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WITH VARIOUS ENTITIES. THESE
INCLUDE THE UNAMIR HUMANITARIAN CELL (PART OF DPKO),
SINCE UNMIR IS INVOLVED IN THE MOST DANGEROUS
HUMANITARIAN WORK SUCH AS EXTRACTING PEOPLE FROM
THREATENING SITUATIONS USING ARMORED PERSONNEL
CARRIERS. CLARK (PROTECT) SAID THE AHT WAS ABLE TO WORK
WITH KIGALI'S PREFECT (THE CLOSEST THING TO AN "HONEST
BROKER" IN THE AREA).

13. THE AHT HAS BEEN NEGOTIATING OPERATIONAL PRINCIPLES
TO GUARANTEE SECURITY FOR INTERNATIONAL RELIEF WORKERS.

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A WRITTEN AGREEMENT HAS ALREADY BEEN SIGNED WITH THE INTERIM RWANDAN GOVERNMENT, WHILE THEY HAVE NOT YET FINALIZED THE AGREEMENT WITH THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT. HOWEVER, THE "DE FACTO" AGREEMENT WITH THE RPF HAS WORKED MUCH BETTER IN PRACTICE THAN THE WRITTEN AGREEMENT WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, SINCE THE RPF HAS MUCH GREATER CONTROL OVER ITS AREAS.

14. REGARDING BURUNDI, CLARK DESCRIBED THE SITUATION AS POLITICALLY FRAGILE AND STRAINING THE CAPACITIES OF THE UN AGENCIES. HE SAID UN AGENCIES ALL AGREE THAT, GIVEN SENSITIVITIES, IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO SET UP A HIGH-PROFILE RWANDAN RELIEF EFFORT OUT OF BURUNDI.

15. CLARK DESCRIBED CONSTRAINTS IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA: SECURITY PROBLEMS GOING OVERLAND FROM THE SOUTH; LIMITED CAPACITY IN THE LENGTHY SUPPLY PIPELINE FROM TANZANIA; AND FUNDING. UN AGENCIES ALREADY HAVE TAPPED THE CENTRAL EMERGENCY REVOLVING FUND AND OTHER

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EMERGENCY FUNDING SOURCES, AND DHA FOR THE FIRST TIME USED ITS AUTHORITY TO USE INTEREST ACCUMULATED ON THE CERF. CLARK'S CONCERN IS THAT WHEN SECURITY CONDITIONS PERMIT GREATER DELIVERY OF AID INSIDE RWANDA, SUFFICIENT FUNDING WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE. DHA IS ASCERTAINING THE RESPONSES TO ITS "FLASH APPEAL" FOR RWANDA AND WILL ISSUE ANOTHER CONSOLIDATED APPEAL BY END-MAY FOR A 3 - 4 MONTH PERIOD.

16. CLARK ALSO DISCUSSED OTHER THE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE CONFLICT. HE PRAISED THE GRB FOR TAKING A CHANCE

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BY ALLOWING IN RWANDAN REFUGEES, MOSTLY WOUNDED TUTSIS,
FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS. IN HIS VIEW, THE 100,000 OR
SO BURUNDI RETURNEES PRESENT A GREATER PROBLEM FOR
BURUNDI. CLARK SAID HE WAS CONCERNED THAT AN RPF MOVE
TO THE WEST COULD RESULT IN MOVEMENT OUT OF RWANDA OF
POLITICAL LEADERS AND OTHERS "WITH BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS"
WHO MAY NOT RECEIVE THE SAME HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE.

17. REGARDING THE REFUGEES IN TANZANIA, CLARK SAID THAT
MANY OF THOSE WHO SAW MEDIA REPORTS OF BODIES FLOATING
DOWN THE KAGERA RIVER HAD THEREFORE ASSUMED THAT
RWANDANS WHO CROSSED INTO TANZANIA WERE FLEEING THE SAME
CONFLICT. CLARK SAID THE BODIES PRIMARILY WERE THOSE OF
TUTSIS, WHILE THOSE WHO CROSSED INTO TANZANIA WERE HUTUS
FLEEING THE RPF BASED ON RUMORS. CLARK EXPRESSED A
GLIMMER OF OPTIMISM IN THIS CRISIS BY SAYING THIS GROUP
WAS MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO RETURN HOME FAIRLY SOON.
HE SAID SMALL NUMBERS ALREADY HAD RETURNED TO TEST THE
WATERS IN THEIR HOME VILLAGES. (NOTE. SEE LATEST
REPORT FROM UNHCR, HOWEVER, BELOW. END NOTE.)

18. CLARK SPOKE VERY POSITIVELY ABOUT THE INSTINCTS AND
UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE NEW U/SYG FOR HUMANITARIAN
AFFAIRS, PETER HANSEN. WHILE HANSEN HAD ASKED CLARK TO
DO A PAPER ON FIELD LEVEL COORDINATION IN PREPARATION
FOR THE SUMMER ECOSOC SESSION, CLARK PREFERRED TO ACT IN
THE CURRENT CASE AND DO THE PAPER BASED ON THE RESULTS.

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CLARK DESCRIBED SEVERAL NEW ACTIVITIES BY DHA IN THE
RWANDA CRISIS: USE OF A SITUATION ROOM; CLEAR
DESIGNATION OF GENEVA AS THE FOCAL POINT (WHICH IS VERY
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IMPORTANT FOR FIELD COORDINATORS TRYING TO GET THROUGH
TO THE RIGHT PERSON BY SATELLITE TELEPHONE); DRAWDOWN OF
THE CERF FOR DHA COORDINATION PURPOSES; COORDINATION
MEETINGS IN NAIROBI CO-CHAIRLED WITH THE OTHER KEY
PLAYER, ICRC; THE FIRST-EVER "FLASH" INTER-AGENCY
FUNDING APPEAL TO PROVIDE A QUICK LOOK AT GAPS IN
FUNDING FOR THE INITIAL PERIOD OF THE CRISIS; SECONDMENT
OF STAFF FROM NGO'S FOR COORDINATION; AND A DIRECT LINE
OF COMMUNICATION FROM THE FIELD TO THE U/SYG, WHEN
NEEDED. CLARKE SAID DHA WAS A SMALL PIECE OF THE
OVERALL RWANDA EFFORT, BUT AN IMPORTANT ONE WHICH
REPRESENTS THE GLUE THAT HOLDS THE INTER-AGENCY EFFORT
TOGETHER AND MINIMIZES THE RIVALRIES.

19. CLARKE REPORTED THAT, BASED ON SNAPSHOTS OF
INFORMATION AVAILABLE, MASSACRES IN RWANDA CONTINUE
(GROUPS OF 20 - 30 BODIES CONTINUE TO BE DISCOVERED) BUT
THEY ARE NOT AT THE SAME LEVEL AS EARLIER. HE ALSO
DESCRIBED THE RISKS INHERENT IN EVACUATING LARGE GROUPS,
WHICH THEN ARE ENDANGERED BECAUSE THEIR STATUS IS
READILY IDENTIFIED AS THEY TRY TO MOVE EN MASSE. HE
SUGGESTED THAT THE BEST APPROACH FOR AN EXPANDED UNAMIR
COULD BE TO EXPAND MARKEDLY THE PROTECTED AREAS.

UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

20. UNHCR'S ERIC MORRIS TOLD US 5/16 THAT RWANDANS ARE
NOW CROSSING INTO TANZANIA AT THE RATE OF 3 - 4,000 PER
DAY. THESE ARE DIFFERENT FROM THE EARLIER GROUP THAT
CROSSED THE BRIDGE; MANY OF THEM HAVE BULLET WOUNDS AND
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FEW BELONGINGS. THE RWANDANS ARE NOW CROSSING OVER INTO
TANZANIA AT 9 - 10 DIFFERENT POINTS; SOME 1,500 CROSSED
INTO KARGWE ON 5/15 IN THE EVENING.

21. UNHCR AND NGO'S HAVE HEARD REPORTS THAT THERE IS A
BUILD-UP OF 20 - 30,000 RWANDANS AT ONE OF THE CROSSING
POINTS AND THEY WONDER IF OTHERS ALSO ARE MOVING TO
AVOID THE RPF. MORRIS SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED USG

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ASSISTANCE, IF AVAILABLE, OF SATELLITE PHOTO COVERAGE OF
POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN RWANDA AND NORTHWESTERN
TANZANIA. PLEASE ADVISE. SPIEGEL

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